177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating
● 613 the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization com-
619 mon to both cultures. This includes (1) the
621 basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny
177 hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the
613 practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or
177 Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 Another basic similarity between the up-
778 land Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural
177 beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 On the side of material culture a more
439 even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
[824] bush powder[49] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
321 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other
[439] coastal people to the west). By laying them on a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa'lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
[237] hand,[50] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[49] "Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor W.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me [Gifford]: 'There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment.'"

[50] "Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

616

tep:k:[71]	seal
naha''at:	otter
k:yo'k:ut:	badger
hoi:	deer
či'u:	cottontail rabbit
tsa'pal:	jack rabbit
mam:l:	blackberries

During a discussion which added nothing definitive on the classification of animals by moiety, J.A. added the following to her list of Nutuwich animals: Cooper's hawk (pohiyon)[72]; pelican (hahal); bat (tc:mtc:m)[73]; rattlesnake (ta'mhana); a bird "like kingfisher but bigger" (šakaka); Steller jay (ṭikaiya).

Of no moiety were ducks (wa'tswats, duck; u'lui'lum, drake); whippoorwill (waiwai); two unidentified birds, one "sang sometimes and used to be like people" [lived in prehuman era] (y:tswahats), and the other (la'ptana) "walked lame like a seal."

Eagle (toh:l) was "on both sides because both moieties had chiefs."

The animals listed are not all lineage totems, and few are dream helpers. It appears that those creatures which are not lineage or dream totems, and do not serve as food, are arbitrarily forced into the moiety alignment. [182] The informant's uncertainty may in part be due to the disintegration of her culture and the disappearance of the wild life; it may also be an indication of an attempt to carry the classification beyond its normal limits.

Ordinarily a child followed the paternal moiety, but the rule was not rigid. In a large family a man might "give his wife" one or two of the children: they would assume the duties and tabus of the maternal moiety. Tribal affiliations, too, were normally patrilineal, but J.A.'s daughter, whose father was without moiety (i.e., a Hutsammi "southerner" from Tule River Reservation), "didn't feel like them and followed her mother's people."[74] Ordinarily, even after marriage, a woman continued to associate herself with her paternal moiety in any situation where moiety alignment was called for.

Moiety exogamy was usual but not obligatory, as the genealogies disclose. Since lineage was the fundamental regulator of marriage [613] (the consanguineal tabu group), no difficulties arose as the result of rearing a child in the maternal rather than paternal moiety. Members of the same moiety who knew themselves to be

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[71]These animals were caught in rivers and lake "west of Lemoore," and at Summit Lake little ones were caught in nets; the Tachi informant M.G. also insisted tep:k was seal "just like you see in the circus."

[72]He was "official shaman killer" ("daredevil") of all the birds.

[73]Bat was a dream helper.

[74]This was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that the girl's family lived among Chunut, Telanni, and Wosoi in a rancheria where moiety functions prevailed.

Puberty

[841] 881 Menstruation was called paiya'hən (pai'ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little ceremony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 591 A young man went to a girl's house and remained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 613 The lineage was primarily a nuclear exogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 [152] The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tashi or Chunut informants, beyond the

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.---Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

[756 All shamans used a basketry tray (tai´iwan, Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

[821] The invisible airshot was derived from the sun. It was made from nothing (i´a´mči, lit., 756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun, 754 grabbed toward it with the hands, and then 789 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could 825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a 756 shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it 789 would change into an owl that went and talked 754 to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

756 Transformation.---The Wukchumni believed 789 that persons with supernatural power, not 778 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves under conditions of great stress into the form of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanši's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

[613] Bear transformation was believed possible for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭapni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

789 Flying power.---The power of flying through space, while mentioned, was only incidental. 756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

756 787 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of the ensuing night and then came home and slept until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for breakfast. Haičača continued this routine until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho·toi), [778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ain·č), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ain·č) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing [754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

756 787 754 At about this time Haičača's mother's cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

756 Haičača became a good doctor; "he never hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

[237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P., of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

546 613 525 11. The only case known to my informants of a water creature serving as a family totem (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter" (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 120 a] Wukchumni

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu'nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho''o ka'maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[369] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, [574] although visitors might send or bring food, for which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 [237] The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[369] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 522 237 [613] While the doctors were doing their preliminary dancing before picking up their snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene. There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over his own. He was painted with black about the [302] eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was not the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 522 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the snake pit, and there lie down with her pre- [786] tending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of t:pni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 1276] Wukchumni

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Muṭoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu)
535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu·du)
[13] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ul] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The [237] usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'ow·ta [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, al- [293] though J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so·n·l). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was
[301] then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs. The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs,
[465 necklaces, and headbands were added. The
431] washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning.
[237] They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262 the meat tabu for the bereaved. The recipro-
cant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

[P. 149 a] Choinimni

624 An official speaker was called di''e'le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chumut pine'ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di'ele, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulušao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

616 The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation [43] of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far 616 as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not 825 recognize a description of "first fruits" eating by either moiety.

Tokelyuwich, west

to'hɨ:l: eagle
naho''o:: grizzly bear
iwe'yɨ:t: long tail cat[18]
hɔ:ts: buzzard
ka'nkas: crow
o'i'o'i': roadrunner
hu'šu: coyote
hu'nhɔ:t: weasel
lɨ'mɨ:k: falcon ["bullet hawk"]
di'kwi'lɨ:ts: fisher (or martin)
ta'tčai: mudhen[19]
la'la: goose
oi''ɨ:k: blackbird
ma'o: tree (grey?) squirrel
hoi: deer
ki'sɨ:n: "red-bell" seeds[20]

Nutuwich, east

wɨ:ts: condor
tono'hop: black bear
wehu'šɨ:t: cougar
ho'toi: raven
upye''i: dove
to'nol: wildcat
so'hup: "chicken" hawk
te'pɨ:š: beaver
šo'šo': kingfisher
wa'twat: duck
šɨ:'č:l: ground squirrel
soi'yal: antelope
o'čoč: magpie
ti'pɨ:n: acorns

[18] Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iwɨ:t, colloquially known as wolf.

[19] P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the words were not the same."

[20] Calendrinia.

[P. 231 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 624 were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotobːč (Bill Tyner) were Halo´pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o´k (Bob ----), and Hai´kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

Y W 624 613 The winatum (na´tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o´i'o´i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he´wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

W Y 624 The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

W Y 613 The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

W Y

	Person	Tribe
619	Kːlmišːt, winatum	Michahai
	Tčaodːt	Waksachi
613	Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
	Takač, chief	Entimbich
776	Wotuš	(?)
	Hawanuč	Wukchumni
778	Mogus	Entimbich
	Čeči	Entimbich
	"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
	Kučum	Choinimni
	Hučač	(?)
	Waja, I	Wobonuch
	Kuijal	(?)
	Wilolohi	Wobonuch
	Supana	Wobonuch
	Upe´'ač	Entimbich (?)
	Etak	Waksachi
	Halopča	Waksachi
	Palaha	Waksachi
	Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
	Pušːlːlːn, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

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W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (aiˈnič); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y

Totem	Dream helper
613 Dove	---
619 Eagle	---
776 Dove	---
778 Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

W Y 791 789

distance, was called mai''iwin by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[186] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi'i'i'i'!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, he landed in a bunch of people. As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. J[illegible] the bear was upon him he called out, "hw[illegible]!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

W Y 613 825 648

The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainič) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Haipuš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a'oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[186] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

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W
Y saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immedi-
613 ately after, they met Pušl·l·n and Ko'o (both
825 Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl·l·n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl·l·n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W
Y The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the
778 eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

W
Y
Waksachi Shamanism

The following very general information on
756 shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (poha'gɛ) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured,
Y he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of
[237] crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u'dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing
W performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts
Y analogue.
764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

W The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for
Y this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman
756 would go to their chief for advice and consent,
683 then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W
Y A mourning ceremony was being given by the
765 Yokod at their village (near the present site
683 of Yokohl). B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).